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quence of thought. The subject was allowed to proceed as long as he chose, and when he paused the interpreter repeated what had been said, while I completed the written record. In the printed autobiographies the original order of narration has been kept. Except for the deletion of irrelevant and confusing place and personal names, the inclusion of a few parenthetical comments for purposes of clarification, and some minor changes in punctuation and the like, the records are in the form in which they were set down in Alor. Although they may sometimes be difficult to read in this fashion, they seem more valuable and genuine pictures of the personalities. The reader will find that, except in the case of Malelaka, the first day's interview comes very close to epitomizing the individual's attitudes and preoccupations.

The autobiographies are rich in ethnographic detail despite the fact that informants were kept rather persistently to their own experiences and reactions. In a few cases ethnographic descriptions of an impersonal nature have been omitted. Even so, the autobiographies serve better than any other device to bring alive and make specific the generalizations and speculations in Part 2.

Chapter 10

Mangma the Genealogist

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

November 24, 1938

[What was the first thing he could remember?] When I was still very small and couldn't yet talk clearly, I remember there was a hungry period. Mother and father went to the woods and took the roots of wild bananas and brought them home to eat. Mother was pounding them up in a mortar, and a little bit fell over the edge. I grabbed it up and ate it, saying, "This is my tuber [referring to an esteemed sort, grown locally]."

When I was still small I was sitting on a mortar. It was the time that corn was ripening. My mother did not cook me ripe corn but was preparing unripe cassava. I asked her for my ako. [*Ako* is baby talk for *bauko*, a prized tuber.] Just then there was an earthquake. I fell off the mortar to the ground. Everything rocked and shook. Cracks opened in the earth. Our house fell down. A heavy beam dropped across the mor-

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fight through until dawn. So he didn't. My comb fell out and I couldn't find it. I was angry because my comb had disappeared. I said if I didn't find my comb I would fight right through until dawn. Then Fanmating came and said, "Here is your comb. I was saving it for you." [The implication is that he had tried to steal it.] Then Maugpada told the young men to go on dancing, to be quiet, and not to fight any more. 159x

December 7, 1938

I want to talk of the time I lived in Awasi. There were two women and a man. The one woman gave birth to a witch and the other to a normal person. [Informant had just been telling a witch story to another person. I stopped this narration and asked him to talk about himself.]

When I went to Awasi I had a friend, Lanmai, there. Thirty of us went to the vicinity to hunt deer and pigs; we stayed there twelve days. We shot a six-prong deer. All in all there were a hundred and eighty deer killed that time. [Highly improbable.] Every night we roasted meat and ate. [He goes on about the magnitude of the hunt, about having to go all the way down to the Limbur River for water, and having to go back to the village for supplies on the fifth day.] [224]

[I asked if he had family in Awasi.] Yes, I have Female House kin there. [Question.] I was old enough to use a bow when I went there, about twenty. [Why did he go?] I met Lanmai at the trading place in Lakfui. I had had bad luck with rice here. When Lanmai asked me to trade with him, I went. Lanmai said, "Next time bring me just pandanus leaves, and my mother will make the raincapes herself." The next market day I took him pandanus leaves. He said not to go back just yet but to go to Awasi with him and pick kanari nuts. There Lanmai said, "I grew fifteen cans of rice here. Now you plant this field too. You can't go back. In good years we have lots of rice. Even rat years we get a little. Use the garden for rice." I went there in December. Corn was already growing, but we planted rice even though it was late. [Was he already married?] No. [Lanmai married?] Yes. [Still friends with Lanmai?] I still go there. I have three coconut and five areca trees there. There were six but one fell. I have already returned six times to Awasi for coconuts. When I was living there a coconut fell from a tree. I wanted to eat it, but an old man, Maikaliera, said, "Do not eat it but plant it. I am only a man and will die, but the coconut will be a tree. You will remember it and come back to it after I am dead. You will always remember a tree." [He continues with accounts of his crops there.] [223] [245]

[Why did he leave Awasi?] Because I had a garden here too, and I

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jumped up too and ran. I was afraid that Senmani of Alurkowati [59] would beat me for what my brother had done. My brother was about twelve then and I was eighteen or nineteen. At that time Fanleti of Folafeng and I were friends. We were born the same day. [Always considered cause for a special bond.] If I hadn't been sick and got a [572] bad eye and leg, my body would have grown big and strong. [Note this preoccupation with his physique. Actually this quarrel that led up to the remark occurred before he was crippled.]

[I asked whether he took care of his younger brother when he was small.] Once mother and I went to the garden; there was a large field house and we lived there. One day she told me to carry Senmani while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food, but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to nurse him, but she wouldn't come. So I took Senmani in the house and laid him down on a mat and ran off to Folafeng. From there I shouted, "Mother, your child sleeps in the house. If you want to care for it, good; if you don't want to, also good. I am going to Atimelang and play." I went to the house of my maternal grandmother in the former Atimelang. I don't know what mother did. Mother called, "All right, you have thrown away your younger brother. Tomorrow you will die." That evening mother came to Atimelang with Senmani and gave him to my grandfather to care for. In the morning she returned and tied my hands behind my back. She said, "You wear a loincloth but you aren't old enough to wear a loincloth." She took my loincloth away from me. Then my grandfather split his shawl and gave me half for a loincloth. I said to my mother, "You have hit me and you have taken away my loincloth. Now I don't want to stay with you." Then mother talked nicely to me, but I didn't want to go back. My grandfather said, "You hit him and opened his loincloth, so now go cut your weeds with your right hand and care for your infant with your left hand. Carry the child in front and your water tubes in back." I stayed a month with my grandfather, and then mother came back and asked me to go home. So I did, and cared for my younger brother.

February 9, 1939

Once Andereas' mother had a child. His mother ordered him to care for the child. He didn't want to; he just ran away to play. So she called me and asked me to care for it. I went up and minded it. Early one morning Alurkoma said that he would mind the baby, and that [573] I had better go fetch caterpillars for him [to eat]. I said, "I can get

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it over my dead uncle. [Question.] I wasn't afraid because I was only a child, without thoughts. At that time we were staying in the house of Lakamobi's wife. It was a hungry season. Father and mother took gongs, mokos, anklets, and necklaces and went to Kelaisi to buy corn with them. The corn was partly to eat and partly for the death feasts. There were many people sick at that time and many died. Mother used to go fetch insects for us to eat. Mother cooked some rice for Malielani and me. I saw Tilamau pinch her mother and whisper to her. She was grown, but she was asking her mother for food. So my mother secretly took some of my rice and gave it to her. She took it secretly so I wouldn't cry. But I saw there were only three of my rice rolls left; one had been taken. I asked where my rice had gone and my mother said a dog had eaten it, but there was no dog in the house. I didn't cry. I just kept quiet. Tilamau used to cry when she saw her mother giving us food. She was a grown woman but she cried. Her mother and my mother wanted to give us food, but Tilamau didn't want it. [Question.] My older sisters were already married and living with their husbands.

[I interrupted to get a list of his siblings. Fantan was the youngest. Two older brothers died before he could remember them. An older sister, whom he recalled, also died. I asked whether he remembered Kolaka's death, and the temporarily interrupted flow began again.] I remember that a big rain was falling and I was sitting on the verandah. A pig rooted up the skull of my paternal parallel cousin. [Question.] She had been dead a long time; there were just bones. My father called in the gravediggers to rebury her and fed them a chicken.

Kolaka came with her husband to ask my mother to help her cut a garden. We all went. They gave us corn and a chicken and we all returned that evening.

Evenings I used to come home with my friends. I had two. One was Senmani, brother of Rilpada. He was older, but he was my friend. The other was Sefatcha. One day we went to my garden and dug sweet potatoes. I and Senmani wanted to roast them in the garden, but Sefatcha wanted to take his home and roast them. I didn't want him to and said he had dug potatoes in my garden and he should eat them there, so he threw down his sweet potatoes and ran away. Senmani said we should make a house; so we built one out of cassava stalks and made the thatch of cut weeds. Then Senmani said he was going to get a pig. We went to a pile of stones and caught a rat. We tied it like a pig and carried it to our house on a pole. We shouted like men bringing in a pig. Then Senmani said the house was a pig-hunting camp. He said that since he

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cut its throat. There were eight of us mountain men staying together and there were a great many Kebola men. We divided the meat and each one got only ten small cubes. People told my wife, who already had a child, that we had killed a deer and had not sent the meat. My wife said, "We are not married any more. He doesn't send meat." Her mother and father were angry too. When I returned I brought a coconut and some salt. I didn't stop but went right through to my garden at Manifula. I sent the salt and coconut to my mother and asked her to take them to my wife. My mother took them to my wife, but she refused to accept them. So I gave the coconut and salt to the chief of Dikimpe, who was sick. [Pause.] 159X

I stayed here and was not happy, so I returned to Kalabahi. I took a rupiah and lost it all the first night playing cards. Then the doctor wanted to go on a trip, and we went along as carriers. The first night we slept in Alor Kechil. From there we went to Kokar. There were many coconuts. The corporal bought some and we ate them. That night we hunted shrimps and eels, and cooked and ate them. The next day early we went to Aimoling. People came for injections. They brought chickens and money to pay for them. The doctor gave us a present of two chickens and we ate them. We went on and slept at Adang. There the people brought many chickens [to pay] for injections, and the doctor gave us one. The doctor's cooking pot was carried off by a dog. The next day we went to Topibang. After the people had injections we went on to Buyenta. The doctor gave us half a tin of rice and a chicken. We got two other chickens. The carriers of the doctor's assistant and of the corporal got three. The next day the injections were finished. The corporal stayed overnight, but the doctor's adopted child wanted to get back to Kalabahi. So we went that night to Kalabahi. We slept in the house of the doctor's servant near the cemetery and the doctor went home. We had chicken and rice to eat. Then the doctor's servant came and ordered us to carry the luggage on to the doctor's house. We did and came back to sleep. The next day was Sunday, so we did not get our wages. On Monday we went and each was to get two and a half rupiahs, but we were fined because the cooking pot had been stolen by a dog, and so we got only seventy-five cents. My wife and mother-in-law were in the market, so I bought ten cents' worth of fish and ten cents' worth of salt. My wife wouldn't take the fish. She threw it in the ditch. She said she didn't want anything from me. My mother-in-law felt the same way. They went home, so I gave the fish to the wife of the mandur of Dikimpe. [Pause.] That night we [222] [177] [443]

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159 older brother, Padalani, carried me to the garden. I played all day on the threshing mat while my elders planted rice. When the planting was over and they had divided the rice baskets, mother carried the food and Padalani carried me. We got back by midday and I played with my brothers and sisters. We strung grasshoppers on strings and used them as necklaces. At nightfall we went into the house. Padalani hit me. Mailani [another brother] said, "Don't do that." When I cried, Padalani and Mailani fought. [Why was she hit?] Because I spilled some corn that Padalani wanted to parch.

[Who took care of her primarily when she was a child?] Fanlaka was too small; mostly it was Mailani who cared for me. [Whom did you take care of?] Maliema [a younger sister].

December 23, 1938

I dreamed I went to weed. My husband called, saying, "The children will weed; you come and cook." I had placed beans to leach. They were still a little bitter but I cooked them in two waters. Then the beans were good, so I boiled them with corn and fed the children. Toward evening I went home carrying all the raincapes. Then I woke up.

[787] This dream of weeding may mean that the rats will eat up all my corn.

I dreamed again that a large spate came down from Manetsti. Likma, Padakalieta, and Langmai ran from it. I sat on my verandah and saw them coming. My husband did not have on his shawl, but one of the children's. They came up on the verandah and I woke up.

[787] This means a big rain will fall and people will run because they won't have their raincapes with them.

●[222 224] [Her relationship to her father?] When I was thirteen or fourteen, my father and I went to the woods to get wild beans. Father took a dog with him to help hunt a pig. Father alone shot the pig. He brought the hindquarters and neck back to the village. [Question.] Kolpada and Fuikari were along too. Father cut the meat up into big pieces and divided the meat with his family. Then he invited people to eat at our house.

Once father called me to go dig sweet potatoes with him, and that evening we brought them back to the village. The next day he called me to go weed the sweet potatoes with him. I didn't do it well, so he hit my hands. When I cried he spoke nicely to me, so I went on with the weeding. In the evening I told mother that father had hit me, and

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I dreamed again last night that we went out to weed. I was up the slope and many children were below me. I told them to come up for fear a stone would roll down on them. So they came up the slope and worked. I cooked for them. That evening on the way home a boy chased a bird. I said, "Boys, chase the bird and give it to me." But they did not get it. Then Manipeni saw a rat and caught it. He said, "Mother, here is a rat," and he gave it to me. [Manipeni was the fourteen- or fifteen-year-old, leprous son of her favorite, dead brother, Mailani.] I went up on the verandah and woke up. [159X]

The dream of a rat means I will get a stomach-ache. [78]

Again I dreamed. Kolpada called to me, "Mother [classificatory], let us go fetch firewood." I said, "Oh, I'll stay. You and your younger sister, Fuimai [the informant's second daughter], can get wood." So Kolpada and Fuimai set off. I followed after them anyhow. Five of us in all went. I hunted mushrooms and got a basketful. We brought them home and ate them. [This was possibly an actual occurrence instead of a dream.]

A dream about mushrooms is a dream of maggots; that is, a dream of a dead person. The fetching of wood means that someone wants to steal something from me. My not wanting to go means that I shall not want it stolen from me. [78]

I want to talk about the time my elder siblings [classificatory] and I went out to get caterpillars. Fuiakani, Fiyepada, and I went to hunt them.

We climbed a steep stone, and Fiyepada lifted me up by my arm. We spread out mats under an afui tree and shook the branches. The caterpillars fell on our mats and we picked them up one by one, placing them in bamboo tubes. I wanted to pick them up, but I was afraid of them because they were like snakes. Each of the older ones put some in my tube for me. Then we came home and at the water stopped to wash them. We cleaned out their intestines. Then Fuiakani broke off corn in her garden and gave me some. As we got to the foot of the slope, my mother called me from the garden. She said I could come and gather corn, but Fuiakani said she had already given me some, so we went on to the village. On the way home Fuiakani also cut off a bunch of bananas, and she gave each of us a large clump. In the village we roasted the caterpillars and bananas together in a tube. It was like real meat. Mother came home and saw the young corn in my basket. She said, "Have you been stealing people's corn?" I answered, "No. Fuiakani took it from her own garden and gave it to me." Then we divided [22] [25] [25]

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the next day we all went back again, seven of us, to help cut Kolfani's garden. 159[x]

[Question.] This year I have two gardens of corn and one of rice. The two cornfields I share, one with Kawaimani and one with Maliemai. The rice I have alone. One field is right here near the village, and the other two are just beyond Faramasang. The field I have near Ruulkameng I didn't plant. I am only now cutting it for sun corn with the help of Kolfani and Kolang. This last garden my father gave me; from mother I got the other three. Kawaimani received a large field [*pining*] from father. Mother gave her three gardens also. This year I am storing my corn with Tilamau [a kinswoman she called mother]. Last year 159[x] 251
and also the year before, I stored with Kolangkalieta. I cannot store in Kawaimani's house because it has no rat disks. Kawaimani stores her food with Tilamau every year. We give Tilamau a small corn bundle as a present, not pay. Tilamau also stores in her own loft, so there are three of us with food there. Tilamau stacks her corn on one side of the two central posts in the loft; then I and Kawaimani also have our stacks. So each person has her own pile.

March 23, 1939

[No dreams. The usual block about starting. I offered no help. 159[x]
Finally the interpreter told her to talk about anything, and he listed many local activities. Her face brightened and she poured out this tale at great length.]

When I was seven or eight, Kawaimani was already married to Maleta. [Note the contradiction of her statement on March 16.] Mother said we should go to Talmang to make a garden. We were to share it with Maleta and the mother of Lonalurka. So we three went. Kawaimani stayed here with Falepang because she had a bad leg wound. So we went to Talmang and cut weeds. At that time we went back and forth. Then when it was time to plant, we went there to stay. When the corn was about eight inches high, Lonalurka said we should go to hunt for bamboo grubs. I, mother, and she went to Bung- [322]
hieng to hunt for them. That evening we brought them home and said we would cook them. I said, "I don't know how. Perhaps old people do, but I don't." So Lonalurka said, "I'll do it." She made a fire and put the grubs in a young bamboo tube and put the tube near the fire. When [552]
they were roasted we ate them with corn. Then a big rain and spate came. Maleta said he was going down the river to catch crabs and shrimps that were washed down with the spate. He got many. He

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poisoned her spirits?] Every night the spirits rose in me so that I couldn't sleep. I wandered around talking to people and chewing areca with them. Langmai was afraid I might sleep with other men. Langmai got a chicken. I had just one handful of rice left, because it was a hungry time, but we fed the spirits' hearth, and then our illness went away. [Stop.] I told Langmai, "If you don't make me a boat carving, hang it over the hearth of my spirits, and feed them, we shall surely die." He made a boat carving and hung it over the hearth. After we fed it, we were soon well. [Stop.]

When we were strong again, we went to a field and built a house there. The chief of Atimelang came and asked us for our taxes. We didn't pay them, so he hit us both with a rattan switch. Then Maikalieta's wife, Fuimai, said, "Don't beat my brother and my brother's wife." She paid a rupiah on our taxes. [Stop.] At this time we went to stay with Maikalieta. He said we had to pay back his money. So I and Langmai went to gather tamarind fruit; we pitted them and sold them in Kalabshi to pay back that rupiah. When we paid it I said, "I made a field and planted it. I asked Fuimai to weed it, saying we would be partners in the field. We divided the corn. That was to pay back the money we owed her. But now that we have paid the money in cash also, who will give back my corn?" Maikalieta chased us away and said we could not stay there any more. But Fuimai was angry with him and said, "Do my brother and his wife sleep on your lap or arms, that you order them away?" That ended the quarrel and we stayed on. Then one day Langmai and Alurkomai dropped Maikalieta's dog out of the house and it yelped. Maikalieta shouted, "Who is hitting my dog? Are you copulating with it [a very insulting suggestion]?" So they answered, "Who is copulating with the dog? If you want to copulate with it, come on." Maikalieta was angry and said, "You can't stay here. Go away and sleep wherever you wish." It was the rainy season; clouds were hanging low and rain was falling. The two men cried and run to Maugata in Lawatika. They were all young at the time and were accustomed to play together.

April 25, 1939

Last night I dreamed I went up to Mailang's house in Fulafeng. I dreamed I had a small field house near his. I saw people lead two carabao toward us and tie them to the posts of my house. After a while Mailang and Maikalieta came with another carabao, a black one, and tied it to my house. I asked why they tied three large carabao to my